



# FORCED MIGRATION AND WOMEN: REGENERATING LIFE FROM THE ASHES IN THE RESETTLEMENT COLONIES POST COMMUNAL VIOLENCE IN MUZAFFARNAGAR, UTTAR PRADESH, INDIA

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## ABSTRACT

Migration is not a uniform phenomenon. Due to development projects, community migrates together and rehabilitates together at the same place. But in the communal violence, victim communities fled away in a hurry to save their lives. They also had to rehabilitate according to their feasibility; where they felt safe and secure. But in this process, victim community lose their emotional-social connection and relationship at both side; inside the community and outside the community. Especially those outsiders which were their old villagers. This paper focuses on the association between forced migration due to communal violence in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli which faced communal riots in 2013. And women's rural employment issues. Displacement affect the social structure and position of the women. And they miss the connection with their native place in their everyday life. This research has conducted through the phenomenological approach; their situation would be analysed through their narratives with the feminist standpoint in resettlement colonies in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli in western Uttar Pradesh.

**KEYWORDS:** Migration, Women, Communal Riots, Muslim, Livelihood.

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND:

Communal violence and its deleterious impact on Muslims are widely discussed problem in India. During the violence, it is common that Muslims' properties were targeted on a large scale by looting and burning of their shops and houses, destroying their sources of livelihoods, other productive assets, and properties (Engineer, 1984) which in turn generated a series of vulnerabilities including unemployment, poverty and general exclusion from the mainstream of the society. Further, in addition to the physical violence and destruction, the community remains at the receiving end. Targeting of Muslims at regular intervals has become a routine affair specifically at the time of elections aimed at garnering political mileage.

Social exclusion, alienation, discrimination and communal violence on the basis of religion have been faced by the Muslim on a large scale. The deprivation of Muslims is closely linked with the processes of religion-based discrimination. Many national, international agencies and government representatives, scholars and policy makers have tried identifying the factors that contribute to this situation and have tried arriving at intervention strategies. However, in India, there has not been any significant reduction in violence against Muslims since independence and its generally accepted that after 1970s Muslim community have been specially targeted in the communal riots (Robinson 2005; Varshney 2002).

This is well documented now that women suffered tremendously in communal riots; not only physically, even psychologically and economically. It is well recognized fact that women suffer in communal violence on account of their gender and religion. Many scholars like Butalia argue violence is almost always instigated by men, out its greatest impact felt by women. In violent conflict, it is women who are raped, women who are widowed, women whose children and husbands are sacrificed in the name of national integrity and unity. And for every fire that is lit, it is women whose job it is to pain- fully build a future from the ashes (Butalia, 1993).

Women are not only victims of violence (Kapoor and Cosman 1993; Kaur 1997), they also suffer during post violence phase resulting from the inbuilt violence in the structure of patriarchy; and structural violence. Women are considered property and their sexuality is the most prized possession of patriarchy (Boulding 2000). Her body is treated as a site for conquering. She suffers during the violence due to her sexuality and post-riots she suffers because of the gender roles/values attached to her.

The main objectives of this paper are to provide evidence to explain the association between migration and gender roles measured by women in paid or unpaid work. The main group of this study as well as its context of analysis provide the opportunity to deal appropriately with this objective. This paper gives specific attention to a particular group of women migrants who acted as house head role earlier and were engaged in the paid work; but post communal violence have been struggling with multiple problems. This study focuses on the status of women migrants from Muzaffarnagar and Shamli district's villages who were living in the newly resettlement colonies in the same districts' town and villages. On the one side, the literature review shows that the Muslim community display unique gender characteristics such as patriarchy, high fertility, low rates of education and waged work inside the home for women. On the other hand, India has a long history of communal riots, and in these riots targeted to Muslim women.

At the last, these women come under the surveillance of their own male community and come under the male control in the name of security and honour of the society.

## MUZAFFARNAGAR AND SHAMLI RIOTS:

In Muzaffarnagar, Fundamentalist groups manufactured hatred against Muslims by cynically deploying rumours, innuendo and falsehood. The issue chosen to mobilize the majority community is based on what would resonate and enrage most. In Muzaffarnagar, in the patriarchal Jat community, the issue chosen to foment hatred was women's 'honour' (Mandar 2016). The claim was that 'love jihad' was being waged by the Muslim men to trap the Jats girls into love. While the Sahay Commission and several other reports confirms that the police complaint filed by the Jat boys' family made no allegation of any eve-teasing or harassment by the Muslim youth of the Jat boys' sister, the dispute arose instead from an accident of the motor-cycles on the Muslim and Jat youth (Sahay report 2015).

After the murdered of Muslim man and two Jat men on 27th August 2013, fundamentalists and right-wing groups mobilized the patriarchal Jat community in the name of honour. And appealed to protect their "Beti and Bahu" from Muslims. On 7th-8th September 2013 communal violence had occurred in the Jat dominated area. Jats targeted the lower caste and labour class Muslims and in those villages where Muslims were less in numbers in both districts. In the violence, nearly 100 deaths, uncounted rapes (only 6 cases registered), arson, looting and the fleeing in terror of 75,000 people was recorded (Mandar 2016). A total of 58 relief camps were set up in Idgah and Madarsa in Muslim majority villages and towns by local Muslim groups. Displaced victims resettled in colonies; according to Mandar (2016), 65 colonies were constructed in both districts, most by themselves, while some resettlement colonies were constructed by the non-government organizations.

These most of the displaced family were dependent on the Jat community for daily wage work in their fields. Some family were migrated labour (only men) who went to the city and other states for earning; some of the families were skilled workers like blacksmith, carpenter, barber, hammer and brick field work; they were also dependent on landlords for the livelihood. Post communal violence they lost their means of labour and most of the family were forced to changed their livelihood. Especially women who came under the weight of the honour of the community and surveillance by the men. They also lost their social network; on which their livelihood and emotional support was dependent.

## METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND DEFINITION OF TERMS:

This study is qualitative and phenomenological in nature with feminist standpoint. This study has been conducted with the ten women who are victim of the communal violence and living in the rehabilitation colonies in Muzaffarnagar and Shamli district. The data collected by the in-depth interviews with the women and observations of their everyday life in the rehabilitation colonies. Forced migration is a term used in this study, in the context of women who had to leave their home and resettled at different places due to communal violence.

**PROFILE OF THE PARTICIPANTS:**

Name	Age	Family Status	Children	Caste	Pre riot's employment	Post-Riot Employment
Aabida	33	Married	2	Luhar	Anganwari Worker	Community Mobilizer
Ishrat	26	Married	1	Luhar	Tailor	Home maker
Nafisa	36	Married	2	Luhar	Tailor	Daily wage Labour
Hazra	45	Married	3	Saikh	Tailor	Tailor
Zubeida	48	Married	4	Neelgar	Cattel rearing	Home maker
Shabana	34	Married	3	Saikh	Cattle rearing	Home maker
Tasneem	45	Married	4	Neelgar	Cattle rearing	Cattle work/ Agrarian labour
Haseena	40	Widow	5	Dhobi	Bhatta Labour	Home maker
Shahnaz	35	Married	2	Kumhar	Bhatta Labour	Home maker
Sayra	34	Widow	7	Saikh	Agrarian Labour	Saleswomen (Cosmetic Product)

The following discussion highlights the main socio-economic and demographic profile of the women. Above table gives a small picture of the participants. Pre-riots these women were head of the family and their husbands worked as a migrant labourer in various states. These women also used to work for earning. They had two jobs earlier. First, they would manage the money which their husband sent them for various domestic activities and other expenses; second, they worked for the earning, some women from the home and some outside the home.

**CHANGING SOCIAL POSITION OF THE WOMEN:**

Migration does not change the location only; it also changes the structure of the society and the relationship. These women had described the phenomena and their physical and emotional relationship with the native place. Women in the resettlement colonies expressed,

*"I always miss my home and its each thing which I made by my own hands. Our elder has given that house to us but I renovated it, I invested my time, my energy to make that home. I build it like I am nurturing my children. I stay in this new home but I feel, I am staying in rented house. I do not feel any sense of belongingness to this house" (Women voices from resettlement colonies)*

This loss does not stop here. It snatched so many things from the women. These women were leading their home but post-riots it changed their position in the families. Now these women are staying in the home and taking care of families only. As one participant described,

*I was working inside and outside the home. I went to the agrarian fields and harvesting for the animals. I soiled ten liters milk every day. But this riot detracted everything from me. Now I am sitting in home. It seems like I am in a prison. But what can I do? This is our compulsion" (Tasneem)*

Due to migration, they lost their relationship and networking. In the native villages, they had been living generation to generation. Where they had social relationship with the Hindu Dalit community with whom they worked in the agrarian field and other sites; on the other hand, they had relationship with the Jat community and worked in their agrarian land. As Zubeida said,

*In the village, we (Hindu Dalit and Pashmanda Muslim) worked together; if we found labour work, we asked them too to join us; and if they found labour work, they also asked us. We helped each other. Now everything is finished. When I sit alone, I use to see what sin we did so we had to face this bad time" (Zubeida)*

Due to displacement and migration to other villages, women had to lose their social relationship and social network. Women who were working from the home like embroidery and tailoring work lost their customer network. In the native villages, women used to borrow material from the shopkeepers; and paid them later. With the employment, these networks also provided them emotional supports to survive in the society.

**Head of the Household:**

These women were leading their families economically before the communal violence. And Women whose husband's sent money home they would manage home expenses, education, renovation of house and new construction. They went to the ration dealer shop, hospitals and grocery shops. As Shabana said,

*"Mard log to bahar jate the kamme agar wo nhi jate to ghar kaise chalta. Wo kabhi chah mahine me kabhi ek saal baad aate the. Wo pasia bhej dete the or hum ghar sambhalte the. Bachcho ko pdhai, dwai or ghar ke bahar ka sab kaam humko hi dekhte the (Men went outside for the earning; if they didn't go how we ran the home. They came home once in six months, sometimes once in years. They sent money and we managed home. Education of the children, medicine, and we also do work outside from the home)"*

Single women (widow) also managed their home by themselves. They could borrow money from the landlord without any guarantee and returned with interest, many times they had to returned this money in the form of labour in landlord's field or home. Those women who were working outside from the home; they had freedom for their mobility. But women who worked from home like tailoring or embroidery work; they did not go rarely out from the home. As Nafisa said,

*"hmara kaam to ghar se hi ho jata tha. Jaat aurte ghar par hi kapde or size dekar jati thi. Sirf nay Dulhan ka map lene ke liye hi unke ghar jana padta tha. Hume bahar jane ki jrurat hi nhi padti thi. Material humari sasu ya koi ghar ka mard lakar de deta tha (We worked from home. Jat women came to home for giving clothes and sizes. We had not need to go out. We only went their home to take measurement of the newly bride. Whatever materials we need our mother in law or men member of the family bought from market)*

Abida was Anganwari worker in the village. Her husband did labour work. She was the first Muslim women in the village who completed her intermediate and got government job. She said,

*When I expressed my desired to complete my education post marriage; my in-law family did not allow me but I did not give up. I started tailoring work from the home; and gave financial support to my husband; he supported me in each work. After few years, he enrolled me in the college. But it was not easy when he enrolled me and my in-law family got information about it; they started scolding me. I had to go through taunt every day 'ye do bachco ki maa, buddhi aurat ab pdehgi'. Some family member said, she would not give you food after education. One day Jat women told my in-laws about the Anganwari vacancies; I applied for that and got selected. There was nothing easy to get that job. I paid a lot to reach at that post)*

These women were playing all kind of role which men play in the patriarchal society and were nurturing their kids not in the home only; as well as were going outside to feed their family. But 2013 communal violence completely changed their role, employment and position in the family.

**METAMORPHOSIS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT:**

Communal riots had changed the living and surviving patterns of the victim women. During the riots, these women had to run away from the home with their kids. Most of the women were present in the villages during the riots; their men were outside for the livelihood. They took shelter in the relief camps at the open places in Muslim majority villages and towns. Women had to leave their animal and all savings at the home. In the camps, women had to depend on the support from NGOs, individual support and state aid. These aids were not for long and were not enough to take life forward. These women have been suffering from both side; attack from the outside community and control their own community in the name of security to protect community honour. In the following paragraphs, I will discuss one by one challenges which women have been facing post riots.

**SURVILLIANCE BY THE MEN:**

In this communal violence, gender had used as a tool to create riots in the name of 'Bahu-Beti Bachao' (save the daughter and wife). Post communal violence these were the women who came under surveillance by their own community because women had targeted in the riots. As Robinson says, "Riots wake the community male elders seek to regulate women mobility, their dress, their behaviour, and the like (Robinson, 2005; pg. 210). Post riots women victims who were living in the camps faced humiliation, molestation and offered for the sexual favours from the native villagers and camp committee organizers (Usman 2017). As Aabida, 33, said,

*"When we went outside from the camp to buy something, local people molested us. They passed remarks at us for instance 'kya chaal hai'*

*(what a walk), 'kya mal ja rha hai' (what a product), 'gadrari kali hai' (she is blooming). They made suggestions of sexual relations; when women rejected their offers or did not give attention to them; they said 'inko to Jato ki chaa ki aadat ho rhi hai' (they used to buttermilk of Jat community. They thought that we are easily available for them)''.*

Further Shabana said,

*"When we went for the help from the camp committees, some of the camp committees' member demanded us sexual favour. We experienced a very painful helplessness. They showed the peoples that they were helping the victims but they gazed women. And whenever got chanced unnecessarily touched our body. Many times, we complained to the camp committees about it. But no one took cognizance of it''.*

These incidents had strengthened the patriarchal forces inside the community. They stopped women from receiving relief material and mobility in the camps. Religious organizations like Jamiat, Tableeg E Jamaat and Jamat E Islami also got attention post riots and started to work in the camps. These camps were converted in the rehabilitation colonies and some colonies established in nearby location. These organizations have been working for religious reformation of these Muslims in the resettlement colonies. But these women have to pay price for this religious reformation in the form of covering their head, practicing the veil, to avoid watching TV, stop the saangeet (music) during the various occasion and the mobility outside form the home.

### CHANGING LIVLIHOOD, LABOUR AND MARKET:

Women left their all economical sources and materials in the villages. After the displacement they suffered for the fundamental needs and roof to protect their families from the rain and summer. Rehabilitation in the new village had given relief from the stresses, but it is not enough to cope up from the losses.

#### I. Struggle to build Social Networks in a New Location:

These women had setup in new villages and towns which are completely new for them. Some of the women said they never came in the town alone earlier. This is the first time when they are living in the town. Women have been trying to building social network in these new locations. These women have been struggling by caste, class and social differences at these new locations. Post communal violence, these victims have taken shelters the Muslim dominated towns and villages. In these villages, mostly upper caste or few OBC dominated Muslims are living. These are Mostly, Rajpoot, Sayyad, Qureshi and Gurjar Muslims. These victims' women have different cultural, language and costumes. One of the participants stressed,

*"These native villages' women wear long suits and spotting chicken's shawl while we wear different style clothes. Now, we are also trying to wear clothes like them because they keep distance with us. And native women speak with 'tahzeeb' while we talk in 'akkadpan' language. We are trying to become like them so that we can sit and talk with them"*

Another challenge, they have been facing to building networking with the local landlord and Hindu Dalit community. These women do not know local peoples and cannot directly talk with the men landlord due to new faces and fear of molestation. Participants expressed,

*"All people are not same but when we were in camps so most of the camp committees were formed by these peoples and they molested, demanded sexual favour and passed sexual remarks on us. We feel insure to ask them about work."*

And these colonies are situated on the periphery of the village and towns, even some of the colonies situated in the forest which are one or two kilometres from the village and towns. And in the old villages, Hindu Dalit worked with them while in these new places, they do not know any Hindu Dalits while these local Dalits also not call them for labour work. So, these women have been facing various challenges to create new social network for their livelihood. They also have fear for security, molestation and oppression by the local men. As I above said, women have lost their livelihood resources and social network, due to it, some women's position also changed in the family structure. And which women are trying to find the livelihood in the new villages; they have been struggling every day to get paid work. They also facing problems in survive in the everyday life. As Sayra explained,

*"In the old village, we got the buttermilk and on the many occasion foods too from the Jats. We used to prepare meal by the butter milk and served our families. Many times, I went to cook non-veg food in their home and they gave food me too. Even, if we did not have fuel so we took from them. And when our ration like wheat and rice finished, we borrowed to the other Hindu neighbours and returned him on the season. These types of support are not possible here."*

It seems like a very small support but it is worthy for these poor and daily wage labourers in the rural setup. In the new places, there neighbours also the victims only. They are suffering from the same type of problems.

This situation is more difficult to those women who are widow and single breadwinner in their family. And changing their livelihood pattern made them more vulnerable. They do not have money and social support. A combination of all these factors has meant that the loss of income of women employed in the informal sector has resulted in considerable deprivation for many poor families (EPW, 1985). In the lack of employment, these women's situation is worst. They have been facing violence in their everyday life, which is not only physical as well psychological too.

#### II. Impact on Informal Work:

Due to male migration, numbers of women participations in agrarian labour and cattle work was high in the Western Uttar Pradesh. Bina agarwal (1998) also argues that the participation of male is declined in agrarian labour however they are moving to non-agriculture work while women have remained very substantially in agriculture. Male members of the family have been migrated towards city for livelihood and all the pressure of agrarian labour work has come over the women. While women's work participation is low in Western and eastern UP but its high in lower caste SC/ST and Muslim OBCs women and the quality of employment is generally bad for Hindu SC/ST and Muslim OBC women as most of them are working as casual labour in western UP. While percentage of women is higher than men in employer, helper and casual labour category in agriculture sector (Singh and Mishra, 2013). In the Muzaffarnagar communal violence, all the Muslims victims belong to lower caste and class Muslims. These victim women also belong to the Pashmunda Muslims (lower castes) and engaged in informal work.

**Farm Labour:** These most of the victim women were engaged in the agrarian work and dependent on the landlord in the villages. At these new villages, women are not able to find the labour work in the field. One participant explained her plight,

*"We do not know anyone in this village. Men started work in the agrarian fields. But we are under threat and are scared. These are 'Ranghad and Kasai'. These people are violent and abusive. In our village we knew the Jat people, if someone had to do wrong behaviour so other stopped them. If here something would happen wrong who will stop these people and from here, where will we go? So, it is good to stay in home."*

**Cattle work:** Women were also engaged in cattle work. They went in the forest to mow grass for feeding the buffalo and cows. Some women whom husbands were working outside would buy grass. These women sold milk and earned money but present time, most of these women are sitting at home and do not have any animal due to finance problem. Shabana said,

*"I lost everything. I had two buffalo each on one's cost was sixty thousand. I could not find anyone. Neighbour told; they do not know who had stolen our buffaloes. Now, we do not have money to buy animal. It very difficult to arrange 50-60 thousand rupees. We are under loan, which we got from the relatives to construct this home, because five lakhs were not enough to buy the land and construct the house" (Shabana, 34, Shahpur).*

Some women have been trying to start their cattle work at the new place. But they are facing various problem to find the grass for the animals and sell the milk. As Tasneem spelled out,

*I have bought two buffalo with the help of my relatives. I was thinking we are living in the village not in the town or city. So, we can start our work again. But it is not easy as it was seeming. We faced problems to get grass in t this new are because we do not know anyone in this place. In the old village farmers called us to work in their land and we arranged enough grass for the animals. Here we are scared to entered anyone's farm land. Another problem is to sell the milk. This colony is far from villagers so no one come here to buy the milk. We have to sell our milk to milk man who come here and buy the milk at cheap price. We have to sell milk to him because there is no another option''.*

While the situation for single women is more difficult to generate livelihood and feed their family. One participant said,

*My husband passed away in the camp. After Iddah, I started to search for paid work but I could not. Then I went in the city with my children. I started scrap picking from the road and other public places. I sold it and got 50-100 rupees every day. When I came in the colony, I worked in the agrarian field. Farmers give 150 rupees of the full day working. But this work I do not get regularly. I started to sell glass bangles and cosmetic products in the village to village. I do not go far but I go to nearby villages which were untouched by riot. My sale is 50-80 rupees in a day and I get 15-20 rupees profit. Some of the community peoples give me 'Sadka and Jakat' so I manage my food and feed my children.*

In the old villages, some of the women worked in the landlords' home. They mostly worked as cleaning the home, take care of animals and muck out to make



cow dung for the fuel. But at these new sites, they are not getting such livelihood support too from the locals. Because these colonies are situated out of the villages and these women are not able to build social network with the native community. It is observed in the colonies that there is not enough employment option for the earning in the village. While, it's native labour class men also going outside for the work. And most of the farming community gives work on priority basis to native laborers. Some of the farmers have been coming to colonies for the labour but they give less money to migrated workers. And migrated community feel scared to get into any dispute with the native labours. Due to these fears and problems, most of the women left their labour work and are compelled to sit at home.

**Skilled Work:** Those women who were engaged in skilled work like embroidery, tailoring and knitting also facing similar kind of problems in the absence of social network. They lose customers and most of them, their equipment too. Some of the women tried to start their work again but could not get the customers. One participant stressed,

"These local peoples have their own network and go there. Especially in our work customers come with trust because they do not trust we will prepare their dress according to their interest or not. We are new here so they have not seen our work."

These women have been sitting at home without any employment. Some of women got some embroidery work on the scarf border but they are getting very less price for it. They prepared one scarf in a day and get fifteen rupees which is very less as comparison to minimum wage. Most of the women lost their hope and become full time home maker in the absence of livelihood.

**Brick Kiln Labour Work:** Many families were engaged in the brick kiln work. It was fix labour for them. They used to go every year for work within state or outside the state. But its drastically changed post communal violence especially for the women. These women went for the work with their relatives or Dalits villagers whom they had been living for ages. But post riots they lost the connection. One participant stated,

"We are scared of any community other than ours. everyone is not bad, but our own neighbours attacked us, looted and burnt our homes, whom to trust now. Post riots, those peoples never came to check on us or meet us in the camps as well also not come to see us in the camps or colonies who worked with us" (Haseena, 40)

Those women's condition is very bad who are widow. These women went for brick kiln work with their children. When they got a company, someone from the same caste person or family from the clan; these widow women went to work in brick kiln in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana and Uttarakhand States. But post riots, they have been trying to build a social network which is very difficult for them. Most of the time, they feel insecure being a woman and when they go anywhere or outside from the colonies, men of the community asked them and suggested them to stay only in the camps. Further, she said,

"I went two times for work. I contacted the contractor in Muzaffarnagar. He gave us work earlier too. But he cheated me. He did not give my wage and forced me to stay at the brick kiln. How could I live without money? When I came back forcefully, he kept my all stuff. I was helpless. I could not fight him. I requested him, I folded hands in front of him that I cannot survive, I have children to feed. I do not have money to feed them. But he didn't listen He was taking advantage of me being single woman."

Further Haseena (40) and Sayra (34) explained,

"Hamare gaon ke log humse thodi humdardri rakhte the of hume kaam pe sath lekr jate the. Agar kisi ke khet me koi kaam hota tha to phle humse puchte the, jab hum mna kar dete the tab kisi or se karwate the (Our villager had sympathy to us. They took us among them for the labour work. If someone need labour for agrarian work; they asked us first when we denied then they gave work to others)"

In the patriarchal society women suffered each step; if women are single and belong to the lower caste and class their marginality multiply due to lack of basic amenities. These victim women have been facing sexual oppression and humiliation in everyday life; not only from outsider as well as by their own community too.

#### TRANSITION OF LIVLIHOOD POST COMMUNAL VIOLENCE

There are four categories of the work which women were doing in the old village for earning, agrarian labour work, cattle work, brick kiln work and skilled work from the home. Only one woman was in government job. Now women have changed their livelihood and most of the women have left the work outside from the home. These women are facing various problems. First, due to security concern, their men had to force them stay in the home and they are not allowing to go outside. Second, they do not have financial support to start their work again. Government have given five lakh rupees to the one family but there are various fam-

ily who did not get compensation. As Sayra said,

"I did not get the compensation, only my father in law got. He has given me a room here. I am staying in it with my children. There are many families who did not get compensation. Especially those who worked outside with the family and came to village in off season" (Sayra, 34, Budhana)

Third reason, these women have lost their market, customer and employer connection. Migrated women are looking for new option but most of them could not make it. Abida was working as an Anganwari worker. She was running an ICDS centre in the village and she was the first Muslim women who passed intermediate class and joined the government job. She explained,

"When I came in the camp, I thought we would be back in a few days. But when I watched my home burnt down to ashes on the TV, I fell down on the ground and lost my hope. I saw, all the children in the camps were playing and sitting around. And some NGOs were raising questions about the children's protection and education. I thought, I must apply to relocate the centre in the camp. I had given my application to DM and when Shivpal Yadav visited the camps, I had requested and given my application to him. But no one had taken any action on it. I visited government offices again and again, but result was nothing" (Abida, 33, community mobilizer, Kandhla)

Above statement gives a clear picture that government was also not concerned about women's employment and rehabilitation. The government was thinking to give compensation only. After which, state was not listening. There was no counselling and no rehabilitation program being run by the state. As Abida further said,

"Many NGOs were coming to work in the camps. They were running education centre, health centre and distributing relief materials. I used to voluntary work in the camp for those women who were pregnant and lactating mothers to provide them iron tablets and vaccinations. One local organization asked me to work with them, I joined and started work with the local NGO which paid me salary; this was not much but it was a big support for me to feed the family. At present time, I am working as a Misaal fellow in the all rehabilitation colonies and in the villages where colonies are situated among marginalized communities. I am happy to be a community Mobilizer and working in the community. I have a job now. I earn, I go out, I feed family, all of these give me satisfaction and relief. I have only one fear, my old job was permanent but this is private. I do not know when this will get over"

The difficulties and challenges are different for each type of work. Government job has the build setup with whom government employee work. But the situation of informal labourer is different from the formal work.

#### CONCLUSION

Displacement and forced migration do not snatch the native place of the victims; either, peoples lost their socio-economic networks which changed psychosocial arrangement of the community. In the patriarchal society, women face psychological pressure due to lack of basic amenities in everyday life. And women have multiple identities in the patriarchal setup; they suffer due to their gender, religion and sexual identity in the pre and post communal violence. In the relief camps and resettlement colonies, these women have been under surveillance by men in their own community. Men assure women to protect them by the outsider. But for this, woman have to pay price in the form of stopped mobility, and fulfil the traditional patriarchal obligations.

Before the communal violence, these lower caste and class women were enjoying economic freedom; free mobility and social life as comparison to those middle-class women who were working as a homemaker. Due to forced migration these women lost their socio-economic position in the family. They have not just left their home; they also lost their social network and relationships due to migration which affected them emotionally and economically. These women have been suffering in their everyday life due to lack of basic facilities.

But post communal violence, women have to build their home and socio-economic connection in the new location, for this they face phyco-social pressure and suffered in daily bases activities. Women build their home from the ashes. These women have not face threat from outsider only. They also face humiliation, sexual assault and control inside the community. Economic independence is the first tool of the women empowerment and forced migration snatched their economic sources. Which pushed them for the financial dependency on men or various other sources. While single women face additional problems to generate the income at these new places. These labourer women survive with psychological and economic stress in everyday life.

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